1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

649 locust-control had grown, though the discrepancy of the two policies towards their wards was manifest. Desert life was characterized by the usual hostilities between the Ṭai, the Yazidis of Jabal Sinjar and the Shammar, which were composed in 1927, and those of the warring Shammar factions themselves—'Ajil against Daḥam—and their tax-avoiding migrations. A successful large-scale assembly of tribal and Government representatives met at 'Aqra in the spring of 1927 and agreed to the cancellation of a score of outstanding claims. Such meetings were repeated in and after 1931. [22] The mass movements of the great 'Aniza sections ignored, as ever, the frontiers assumed by their nominal Governments; in 1929 the bulk of the Ruwalla and Saba'a poured into 'Iraq for grazing and passed across the desert motor route, but tribal fighting, for which the 'Iraqi 'Amarat were all too ready, was avoided by their withdrawal. In 1931 progress in Paris conversations on the still undetermined frontier had so far advanced that application could be made to the League Council to appoint a Commission to trace a boundary based on that of 1920. A Swiss president, with a Spanish and a Swedish member, were appointed for the task. The first of these, Colonel de Reynier, lost his life in an aircraft accident on his way eastward, and was replaced by a fellow countryman, Colonel Iselin. The Commission finished their task in May 1932 and offered their recommendations, which were not unanimous, in September. These were adopted by the League. They involved the inclusion of the whole Jabal Sinjar within 'Iraq, with compensating transfer of territory to Syria elsewhere. The subsequent Delimitation Committee, with the same Chairman, finished its work in 1933. It was notable that in frontier dealings thereafter, as well as before, 'Iraqi tribal and other interests were defended by 'Iraqis, Syrian by Frenchmen.

The grievous events of the 'Iraqi–Najd border in 1927–9 illustrated, all too typically, the effects of confronting the proud but primitive and fanatical bedouin of north-eastern Arabia with a territorial frontier, which they could neither locate nor comprehend, as opposed to one tribally indicated; with an attempt at national discipline in their own country, which they resisted with savage individualism: and with modern weapons, which they resented as evil and unjust. With the penetration of Western conceptions into Arabia, the erection there of a relatively formidable central Government, and habituation to guns and aircraft, the same conditions are unlikely to recur; indeed, they may have passed for ever from the world.

649 721 The good effect of the Baḥra agreement lasted for two years, and although the establishment of the frontier tribunal envisaged in it was for many months delayed, the peace was kept in the wastes

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

241 feeding will make livestock far more productive and resistant to
231 disease and produce better and stronger draft animals. By making the keeping and systematic feeding of livestock an integral part of settled agriculture, the people on the land will be assured fuller employment and higher incomes. Livestock should play a more prominent part in the farm economy for still another reason. The great bulk of the sheep and goats, which constitute over 80 percent of the livestock, are the property of nomads and semi-nomads.
● [221] Nomads from the northern and southern deserts regularly move into the riverine-areas in search of summer pasture; and semi-nomadic shepherds move within the irrigated areas feeding their flocks on green barley, grain stubble and the grass and weeds of fallow land. Both are meeting with increased resistance from the settled farmers; and in any event the expansion of the area under irrigation will increasingly curtail the pasture available to the nomads. Thus the remaining nomadic tribes will need to be gradually settled, but they will adapt themselves readily to settled agriculture only if it will enable them also to maintain considerable livestock.

246 Among the forage crops berseem or Egyptian clover, a winter annual, is well-adapted to most of the irrigated area of Iraq and could be grown on a much larger scale. Sown in the grain stubble in late summer, it will provide a good pasture, soiling and hay crop. Alfalfa, a perennial, also makes a good forage crop capable of yielding 1.5 to 5 tons per donum for two to five years. However, in view of its deep roots, it cannot be recommended unless good cultivating equipment is available to kill it when necessary. For summer pasture, quick-growing crops such as millet or binder crops such as maize and sorghum should be grown. Summer legumes—cowpeas and mungo beans, and particularly the black mungo of India —can be recommended. The lack of water during the summer makes the problem of forage crops in the rain-fed zone more difficult. Large areas can, however, be planted to winter oats and vetch which, when cut, cured and cocked, will provide a good reserve feed.

248 The increased production of cotton which has taken place recently should be an excellent source of livestock feed once farmers learn to appreciate the value of oil cake feeding. For this

20: Hourani S-5 (1945) 1947 M1 Middle East
Iraq MHI

development of an Iraqi nationalism, regarding all Iraqis without distinction as equal citizens of the State. 641 563

These two tendencies are not necessarily opposed to one another except in their extreme forms. A Pan-Arab would generally concede the value of local feeling provided it is kept in its proper place; an Iraqi nationalist would not oppose Iraq's membership of the Arab League. They differ not in essence so much as in emphasis. This difference, however, is important; and it is clear that the future of the minorities will be greatly affected by which of them prevails. If the exclusive Iraqi nationalism prevails, the way will be open for all minorities to become full citizens, although this will not save them from the necessity of at least some degree of assimilation. If Pan-Arab sentiment prevails, then a serious Kurdish problem may arise; and a Christian problem as well if Pan-Arabism is not dissociated from Islamic feeling. 668

The Kurds: Description

The Kurds form a compact community with a local majority in the north and north-east of Iraq. Most of them are concentrated in the liwas of Mosul, Irbil, Kirkuk, Sulaimania and Diala. The regions which they inhabit are largely mountainous, and a great proportion of them are nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoral tribesmen, pasturing sheep, goats and other animals, moving up the mountains in the summer and down again in the cool weather. Others of them, however, are farmers in the plains and valleys, who cultivate wheat, fruit, rice and tobacco; not all the farmers however are wholly settled, some of them being semi-sedentary. 563 221 [241]

Most of the Kurds are Sunni Moslems, although a minority belong to extreme Shi'i sects. Again, most of them preserve their Kurdish language and customs, although in certain districts they are bi-lingual and a few tribes are in process of being Arabized. Their language is not unified so much as a group of dialects, some of which differ partly from one another. Similarly, they themselves do not form a single community but a group of tribes. Among the wholly settled Kurds the tribal organization is becoming weaker, but in the mountains it is still very strong, and in general it is true to say that tribal loyalty is stronger than any other. The tribesmen, like most mountain peoples, are restless under civil government and positive law. They willingly 563 619 178

25c Warriner S-5 (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
Iraq MH1

sections or clans, under the direction of the sirkal, the head of the clan, who organized the members of the tribe on a share-cropping basis, the peasants generally taking a half, two-fifths, or a third of the produce.

But even on these individual holdings communal ownership is manifested in several ways: for instance by the fact that sub-tribal chiefs can be shifted from their holdings by the tribal chiefs; by the right of pre-emption and veto exercised by the tribe over transfer of land from one member to another, and especially to outsiders; the fact that women are excluded from inheriting land; the moral duty of employing members of the tribe in preference to outsiders; and in certain parts of the country, reallotment of the land on the *mushaa* system.[1]

The method of farming necessitates the existence of some measure of communal cultivation and ownership. Cultivation by irrigation involves many duties which cannot be performed by one household—the clearance of canals, the building of dams across channels, and the strengthening of the river banks; all these functions require tribal organization. Hence the head of the clan, the sirkal, was originally a manager on behalf of the tribe; he employed the peasants and divided the land among them into plots to support them until the harvest, appointed the dates of sowing, harvesting, and threshing, and organized irrigation and canal clearance.

Thus, although the tribe exercises a right of occupancy over the tribal *dirah* and can prove occupation of the whole area, it cannot be proved in the same sense that the peasant has a certain plot of his own occupied for a number of years. Within the tribal *dirah*, the area cultivated by each group shifts as canals silt up and the land is impoverished by salt, and so the area cultivated by each peasant shifts also. The peasants themselves are largely mobile, both within the tribal *dirah* and outside it; cultivation is rather half-hearted and grazing remains an alternative occupation.

It must be remembered that the tribal system, when it prevailed generally, had no legal basis, and no protection from the State; the tribe was, in fact, in itself a unit of political organization, and itself performed the State's functions. Within the

[1] From an unpublished report by Dr Salih Haider, on 'The Problem of the Land in Iraq' (1944).